1:Nimuendajú E-5 (1941-1942) 1952
SQ20 Tucuna SQ20

of a heavy wood, *cumarú;* it is two fingers thick and as much as 80 cm. long (fig. 4, *a*), and with it they crush and mill the material in a long semicylindrical trough (tau/ta'), sometimes open at both ends. In this hod they often work with a short wooden pestle; I saw one which ended at the top in a sculptured human head.

The cook shed is also the place where they make dry manioc flour, *farinha de mandioca*, which is probably the Tukuna product most desired by the Neobrazilians today. Formerly, the Tukuna did not know how to use it, but for dry flour substituted *beijú*, a thin flat cake of fermented manioc dough baked on a clay slab. They also had a flour made of maize cracked by the heat of fire,[a] which went by the name of a/tẽ'ẽ and was eaten with bananas.

The Neobrazilians probably taught the Tukuna how to make manioc dry flour, since so many of the Tukuna terms relating to it are Neobrazilian, for instance, the name of the product, ʊ:'i (l.g., *uí*), and of the utensils used in its manufacture: e.g., yapu'na, oven (l.g., *yapúna*), te'piti, press (l.g., *tipity*), kučʊ, hod for the dough (P., *cocho*).

I do not know what shape the earlier grater had; today it is invariably made of a punctured sheet of metal. There are still small graters which are made from the aerial root of the *paxiubinha*, and others made from the bony part of the tongue of the pirarucú, but they are no good for grating manioc roots; they are useful only in the preparation of certain medicines.

Like any other load, the manioc roots are brought from the garden patch in large conical baskets (pl. 4). These are made by the men—who, however, never use them—in an open-mesh technique, usually of split *cipó*, more rarely of uarumã stems. The Tukuna say that they learned to make this type of basket (vɔ'tura; Tupi, *waturá*) from the Omágua, who then made war against the Tukuna for copying an Omágua article. Formerly the Tukuna baskets were cylindrical, with a square bottom. All are carried with a tumpline of envira. Baskets of both types are in use today, although the first type predominates.

Aside from these carrying baskets, the Tukuna also have a large woven bag, ñẽ'/rị, closed by a drawstring passed through the mesh row of the opening; it often has a tumpline woven of the same material (pl. 7, *e*). This bag, *puçá*, with the mouth held open by a hoop of cipó or of elastic wood, also serves as a dip net. It is mentioned in the legend of the origin of culture heroes as one of two articles typically used by women and is one of the elements which the Tukuna share with the cultures of eastern Brazil and the Chaco.

Formerly, the Tukuna peeled manioc roots with the edge of a large bivalve shell, koru, common along the Solimões. This is used even today to scrape pineapples for the preparation of a cooling drink.

For soaking bundles of manioc roots in plain water the Tukuna invariably use an old canoe near the entrance to the house. The squeezed pulp from the press (tipity) is placed in a hod, open at both ends and set slightly inclined on two sawhorses. Nowadays, the Tukuna make "dry" farinha just as much as "wet"; they rarely bother with tapioca. The pulp is strained through square, large-meshed sieves made of strips of bamboo, *taboca*, or uarumã (ʊ:'i-čim|/|ⁿn).

For other purposes there is a small fine-meshed sieve, va'ira-čin|/|ⁿn (*vdira*,

[a] The word for popcorn, *pipoca*, was not used here.—Trans.

1:Nimuendajú E-5 (1941-1942) 1952
SQ20 Tucuna SQ20

continued movement the sand widens and deepens the grooves, so that in time the binding has to be drawn tauter until finally the two sections of wood close completely about the cipó. This labor, which is very tiring since it lasts four days, is carried on invariably by two men, one standing on the platform, the other below, working just as if they were sawing boards in a sawmill.

Removing the grooved pieces from the scaffolding, but always keeping the cipó bound within, they untie and retie the lashings, section by section, reducing the piece to a round shape instead of the former square shape, the thickness varying from 1 to 1.5 cm. at the muzzle and from 3.5 to 4 cm. at the breech. They then cut off a section at each end—since here the abrasive action of the sand and movement always widens the bore a little too much—and with wax they firmly join the two halves. The two lengths they then bind spirally on the outside, from end to end, with a strip about 3 cm. wide from the smooth cipó guembé, and coat the whole with wax again.

At the breech they add a mouthpiece of *mkirapiranga* wood (*Cesalpinia echinata; condurú de sangue*) in the shape of a hollow spool. About 10 cm. from this they affix a sight made of wax, with a tooth of the squirrel, *acutipurú* (*Sciurus* sp.), set longitudinally with the convex side up.

Finally, they polish the barrel with a long wad of dried maize leaves with a cord tied at each end. Placing the blowgun in a horizontal position, two persons, each grasping an end of the cord, pull the wad back and forth through the bore until the desired result is obtained.

The Tukuna blowgun never has jaguar (*onça*) teeth at the mouthpiece as Tessmann was informed,[10] nor is the muzzle funnel-shaped, as in the plate of Barbosa Rodrigues.

In the house the blowgun is bound parallel to and pressed flat against a roof pillar, where it is tied at the top and bottom by two loops of cord. In order to remove any curvature, small wedges are inserted at the precise spot necessary between the weapon itself and the post to which it is lashed. When the weapon is not in use, the cleaning rod is generally left inside it.

I greatly admired the agility of the Tukuna in running through the jungle with this weapon, for its length makes it a clumsy thing to carry, and it is too fragile to stand strong knocks. But the Indians shift it from above the head to one side or the other, never knocking it against a tree trunk, and do not appear to be inconvenienced.

The dart (ɔča'gu) for the blowgun is about 30 cm. long and 2 mm. thick. A twist of kapok, *sumahuma* (*Ceiba pentandra*), is rolled on at the rear end; below the point of the dart a small circular notch is cut so that the tip will break off in a wound.

The darts are kept in a long, small, cylindrical basket, *aljava* (yɔ:'ru), with a square bottom and a round mouth. The outside is covered with wax and has tied to it a small sack which contains kapok. The Tukuna do not attach the little curare container shown in Barbosa Rodrigues' plate, since, before leaving the house, they always poison the number of darts they calculate will be needed. They spread the poison on the tip of the dart with a small spatula, then lay the darts so treated

[10] Tessmann, p. 560.

1:Nimuendajú E-5 (1941-1942) 1952
SQ20 Tucuna SQ20

The father may drink paiauarú in small quantities, but only if it is sweet; drinking more would make the child a drunkard and would also cause it to cry excessively. Even after the period of restriction the father may not approach his child if he has touched some object that might harm it. At Igarapé de São Jeronymo I was told that the father is not subject to any dietary or other restrictions, provided that he does not touch the child.

The Tukuna, like the Apinayé,[1] believe that the acts of the parents are reflected in their children's health, and vice versa, not only in the period immediately subsequent to birth but also throughout life. Thus, when a sick person submits to treatment by a shaman (pagé) the parents as well as the children must for one week avoid eating salt, peppers, and viscous fish.

Once the umbilical cord has fallen off, it is thrust among the roots of a *pupunheira* tree or, better yet, into a crevice opened by the edge of an ax in the bark of the *tapereba*, since this tree "does not die," even when chopped to pieces. After the birth of a child, the husband avoids his wife for one year, more or less.

Infancy and Childhood

The infant is carried slung across the shoulders in a sling, tipoia (pl. 8, *b*), some ten centimeters wide, which is double, so that the child sits on one strip while the other supports its back. This sling (T., na:-čimi^{a}) was formerly woven of cotton or tucum fiber, or even at times made of tururí bark cloth. Nowadays it is almost always of purchased material.

Amulets protect the child against disease purely by their magical powers. Thus, the child has the skull, minus the beak, of a *miuá* (*Phalacrocorax vigna*) suspended from its neck so that it shall not fall sick of fever. A necklace of certain seeds with a penetrating odor protects it against catarrh; and the claw of a *tatú canastra* (*Chelonicus gigas*), hung from the wrist, guarantees the child's becoming an expert worker, especially a good canoewright. The Tukuna have not the slightest conception of the "evil eye."

If one goes at night into the dark jungle with a nursling, the infant runs the risk of losing the soul from its body. To prevent this, one must whistle and call the child by name. The tree spirits also like to steal children's souls, as do the water demons called dyë'vaë (see p. 119), which threaten it during its bath in the igarapé; for this reason the mother is accustomed to thrust a magic arrow into the bath water. Children less than two years old crying alone attract the shades of the dead (na-čii'), who separate their souls from their bodies. All these circumstances require the intervention of a shaman. The child receives its name on the day after birth, as already described (p. 60). At the age when they begin to crawl, children are subjected to a ceremony called tẹ-ta' ẹẹmat| (paint them), at which they are daubed with red urueú and decorated with feathers plucked from parrots.

Children submit—formerly at the age of two, nowadays at four years or later—to a second festive ceremony called bua tẹ ta bë'ëru (pluck the children's hair), at which the ears are also pierced and boys have the septum of the nose pierced. Today only the hair is plucked—if, indeed, it is not cut with scissors—and the

[1] Nimuendajú, The Apinayé, p. 102.

1:Nimuendajú E-5 (1941-1942) 1952
SQ20 Tucuna SQ20

852 girls' ear lobes are pierced. The direction of this feast (pai-ĕi'n|), as that of the painting ceremony, falls to the paternal aunt. Both follow the procedures common [604] to all the rites of passage, which are described in detail in connection with the puberty ceremony.

Spix relates that at the ceremony which he personally attended in Tabatinga (though from the evidence he apparently witnessed it only from afar!) the hair was plucked from a child two months old, and he says that this ceremony frequently cost the life of the child![a] But the boy shown in his plate "Maskenzug der Ticunas" has a bald head, is held in a woman's arms (it should be in a carrying sling), and appears to be about two years old. In any case, I have never seen or heard of a single instance where this operation caused the slightest harm to the child.

The hair-plucking ceremony, celebrated with all the elaboration of the major festivals, lasts two or three days. On the morning of the second day the child is [302] decorated with thick urucú paint on which hawk plumage is glued (pl. 12, *o*). Horizontal lines are painted to encircle the arms, forearms, thighs, and legs; two vertical lines are drawn on the front of the torso and two behind, and spots are daubed on the cheeks and forehead. On the arms are placed bands made from feathers (see p. 37), other bands are placed on the legs. In the process of weaving these bands, short locks of hair from one of the child's relatives are inserted.

[301] A boy has a necklace of monkey teeth placed about the neck, and he is dressed in a double tanga of painted white tururí cloth (see p. 36). For a girl, a tanga of cotton cloth is used, for which nowadays purchased material is substituted. Pectoral strings of beads complete the feminine attire. Today, even though the child ● [482] undergoing this ceremony has already passed far beyond the age where it requires the carrying sling, the aunt seats it in a sling of tururí ornamented with painted triangles and dances with it thus in the midst of the guests. The ears are pierced in the manner described on page 38. Before the hair plucking no drug is given to the child. I observed that the children differ individually very much in sensitiveness. All the children cry quite enough, but it was extraordinary to see a boy at [152] least four years old struggle and bellow so desperately that a man had to hold him while three women were plucking his hair. In the end, the little one was completely exhausted and without a vestige of the ornaments worn at the beginning of the ceremony. His mother, seated near by without taking part, eyed her son with an indignant look and with evident disgust at his deportment, which appeared to shame her.

Some eight months afterward the child celebrates the dyupa'kĕĕ (na-pa'kĕĕ, forehead), a complementary feast of slight importance during which the hair, by then grown anew, is clipped straight across the forehead. On the same occasion the leftover decorations from the preceding ceremony, which have been kept on purpose, are burned.

857 524 *Childhood.*—The lives of children run a rather monotonous course, owing to the lack of opportunity for them to associate with one another. Once in a great while, with the exception of a feast, where the preoccupation is different, one may see a number of them joined in play. Their toys are dolls of muirapiranga wood (see

[a] Spix and Martius, p. 1188.

1:Nimuendajú E-5 (1941-1942) 1952
SQ20 Tucuna SQ20

286
482
854

PLATE 8

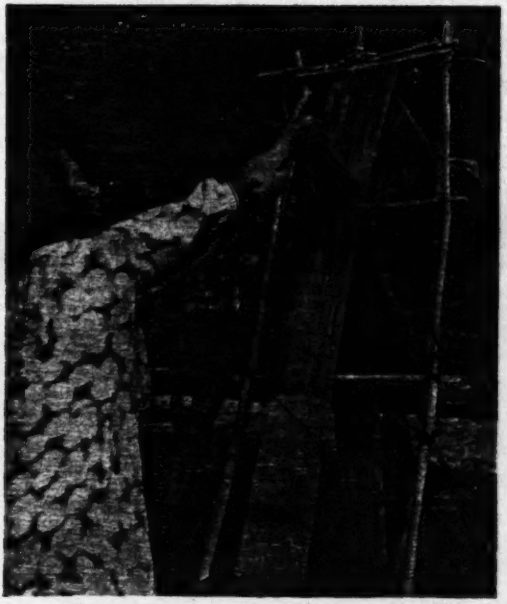
Carrying sling (tipoia). *a*. Carrying sling on the loom. *b*. Child in double sling. *c*. Device for alternately raising and lowering the odd and the even warp threads when weaving sling.

1: Nimuendajú E-5 (1941-1942) 1952
SQ20 Tucuna SQ20

286
H82
954
Z91

a

b



c

CARRYING SLING; WEAVING TECHNIQUE

1:Nimuendajú E-5 (1941-1942) 1952
SQ20 Tucuna SQ20

PLATE 11

881
245
353
306
482

Girls' puberty ceremony. *a*. The seclusion room. *b*. Making the warïkj's bracelets. *c*. Carrying the remains of the feast to the river.

1: Nimuendajú E-5 (1941-1942) 1952
SQ20 Tucuna SQ20

881
[285]
[353]
[306]

a

b

[982]

c

FEATURES OF THE GIRL'S PUBERTY CEREMONY

2: Nimuendajú E-5 (1941-1942) 1948
SQ20 Tucuna SQ20

291 Men formerly wore a belt with one apron of turury inner bark in front and another behind. The penis was stuck under the belt. Women [174] perhaps at first went about entirely nude, but later adopted a short cloth of turury or of woven cotton, wrapped around the hips. Men wore 301 bracelets with long feathers and necklaces of teeth (pl. 65, *bottom*). At 292 feasts chiefs wore a cap of feathers mounted on a cotton or *Bromelia* net, or large diadema.

MANUFACTURES

532 **Bark cloth.**—Various masks and zoomorphic figures are made of bark 287 cloth (pl. 64).

285 **Basketry.**—Clothes baskets are made of uarumã stalks with a round opening closed with a lid. Four points are drawn up and down over the lid and the bottom, the latter serving as legs. Other baskets have a flat square lid and bottom. Both types of baskets are made in all sizes, from 2 to 16 inches (4 to 40 cm.) in diameter. Burdens are carried [482] in large conical baskets hexagonally woven of liana, or in cylindrical baskets of uarumã stalks. These are supported by an embira-fiber tumpline. The *Tucuna* also use pouches of looped tucum threads.

323 **Pottery.**—Women and sometimes men still make bowls, dishes, pans, [531] and pots of clay, which are decorated with painted or modeled ornaments. [776] Potter's clay is gathered according to certain rules so as not to anger its owner, a water demon who appears in the shape of the western rainbow.

415 **Gourds.**—Gourds are covered with a black lacquer, and may bear de- 531 signs in indelible red pigment. Wooden spoons are carved, sometimes in fantastic shapes.

411 **Weapons.**—The bow is 6½ feet (2 m.) long with the ends notched to hold the string. It is now rare, even as a fishing weapon. The hunting arrow has a poisoned wooden head and feathering of the arched type. Arrows are 5 feet 4 inches (1⅔ m.) long. Spears have three types of points: (1) a poisoned, wooden point with four corners; (2) an iron point; and (3) a plain pointed stick. The last two are still used to hunt jaguars and peccaries. The *Tucuna* blowgun is over 10 feet (3 m.) long, and the darts 1 foot (30 cm.) long. [278] The poison [178] is the most effective of any made in the Amazon Basin, but its manufacture, which requires much time and care, is now being forgotten. [231] Hunting dogs, which are of little use, are, according to tradition, pre- [173] Columbian.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

181 The *Tucuna* are industrious and hard working, kind to their friends, honest, patient, and hospitable. But they are more liable than other Indians [762] to great outbursts of sudden anger, a trait which sometimes leads them to suicide. This is a manifestation of their individualism and desire to live

2: Nimuendajú E-5 (1941-1942) 1948
SQ20 Tucuna SQ20

apart, which is correlated with their lack of social organization other than blood ties. When drunk they quarrel and often cause injuries and death. In their dealings with the Neo-Brazilians, both parties exhibit their worst qualities. Nevertheless, the *Tucuna* are not unsociable and frequently visit one another and hold festive meetings, when they work collectively for their host. They retain tenaciously their original spiritual culture, although hard work has brought important material improvements. They now have good firearms, tools, clothes, and sewing machines, and they live in financial independence. Some, however, enticed to industrial establishments (rum factories) of the civilized people, become proletarian and then degenerate.

Moieties and clans.—The *Tucuna* are divided into two exogamous, unnamed patrilineal moieties, associated respectively with the east and west. One has 15 unlocalized, patrilineal sibs with tree names; the other has 21 sibs with bird names. Neither the clans nor moieties have outward distinguishing features, except for the private use of certain musical instruments on ceremonial occasions. There is no clear relationship between clan members and their eponym, except that a person's name refers obscurely to certain qualities of the animal or plant, thus revealing his clan. A person is named by his maternal relatives the day after his birth.

The *Tucuna* maintain moiety exogamy with strict inflexibility, and in 1941 still punished violations with death. They regard incest as a sin against the goddess Taé, who punishes it by making one insane during his life and by annihilating his soul after his death.

LIFE CYCLE

Birth and childhood.—After coitus, conception depends on Taé, who gives a soul to children. Abortion and infanticide are practiced, especially when the father is a Neo-Brazilian, as the child would be disqualified for sib and moiety membership. Otherwise, it is believed that infanticide is a sin and that Taé punishes the soul of the perpetrator after death.

Childbirth takes place in a temporary shelter prepared in the bush near the house. The newborn child is immediately painted with genipa. Both parents are confined and diet until the umbilical cord drops off. Children are carried in a woven cotton sling passing over a shoulder. Slings are double in part, so that a child sits in one portion while the other supports its back.

When a child begins to crawl, there is a feast in which it is painted with urucú and covered with bits of parrot feathers while the paint is still sticky. At another feast, formerly celebrated when the child was 2 but now when it is 4, its hair is pulled out and its ears pierced. Contrary to certain authors, this operation does not endanger a child's life. About 8 months later there is a supplementary feast when the hair, having grown again, is trimmed, and the relics of the previous feast are burned.

2: Nimuendajú E-5 (1941-1942) 1948
SQ20 Tucuna SQ20

881 Several hours after midnight, half a dozen of the girl's relatives, holding her around the waist while her eyes are covered by the feather diadem, [535] dance back and forth toward the wall, which is cut open with a knife so that they finally pass through into the main room. As she is now more exposed to invisible forces, the relatives dance with her until near dawn, then slowly go outside and circle the house. At sunrise they uncover her eyes and have her throw a burning stick against a pole marked to represent the "enemy." She now walks without assistance and dances freely with the others in the house.

[302] Depilation follows. The girl sits on the tapir hide in the middle of the room while three to six women pull out her head hair in little bunches, [534] accompanied by a small drum (tambor) and rattle. She endures the operation calmly, not even drink being given to alleviate the pain. Her paternal uncle in a vigorous speech then instructs her about her future duties as a marriageable girl.

The masks are now surrendered, each owner receiving a piece of roast meat. The disguises are piled around the girl, until only her head protrudes. The cloth is then ripped and the shreds thrown over the house beams. The turury cloths, which now belong to the host, are wound up and put away.

The seclusion room and roast-meat stand are dismantled. The participants divide the pieces, going in a solemn procession to toss them into [482] the river. The girl is carried on the tapir hide held by five or six men over their heads in the procession. She undresses, and, kneeling in [751] shallow water where a magic arrow protects her against water demons, she is washed by all the men who have magical powers. She then redecorates herself and joins the dancers, who perform in the house until the last drop of beverage is drunk. At the end of the feast, everyone [522] bathes hilariously together, tossing each other into the water.

Formerly, in order to bring a large haul of fish, the girl was washed [226] again after the feast with a solution of timbó at an appropriate spot on [789] the creek.

Six to eight months later there is a supplementary but less ceremonial feast to trim the girl's regrown hair.

841 Subsequent menstruations entail few restrictions: a woman stays in her yard because the spirits of certain trees may injure her with an arrow and because contact with her would make a man inefficient in any undertaking.

836 **Marriage and adulthood.**—Sexual intercourse with prepubescent girls is unthinkable; with young women it brings shame on the whole family. There is no instance of ravishment. Rape is a grave offense to the parents.

584 A request for marriage is made to the girl's paternal uncle, but if the girl refuses peremptorily, she cannot be forced to marry. Public notice